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Message Text

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C O N F I D E N T I A L LIMA 10377

LIMDIS

EO 11652: GDS
TAGS: PFOR, PE
SUBJECT: ASSISTANT SECRETARY ROGERS MEETS WITH PERUVIAN MILITARY IDEOLOGUES

1. PRESIDENTIAL PRESS SECRETARY AUGUSTO ZIMMERMANN INVITED ASSISTANT SECRETARY ROGERS TO DINNER MEETING AT HIS HOME LAST NIGHT (DECEMBER GO) WITH GROUP OF TOP MILITARY GOVERNMENT LEADERS AND IDEOLOGUES. ZIMMERMANN TOLD US MEETING HAD BEEN APPROVED BY PRESIDENT VELASCO. AMBASSADOR DEAN AND DCM BARNEBEY ALSO INCLUDED. ASIDE FROM ZIMMERMANN, PERUVIANS PRESENT WERE:

GENERAL GRAHAM HURTADO, HEAD OF COAP; GENERAL JORGE FERNANDEZ MALDONADO, MINISTER OF ENERGY AND MINES; GENERAL LEONIDAS RODRIGUEZ FIGUEROA, FORMER HEAD OF SINAMOS AND NOW COMMANDER OF THE LIMA MILITARY
IGEION; GENERAL RAMON MIRANDA, SLATED TO BECOME EDUCATION MINISTER; GENERAL ENRIQUE GALLEGOS, MINISTER OF AGRICULTURE; AND ADMIRAL ENRIQUE FELIX DAVILA, HEAD OF NAVAL ACADEMY (AND SAID BY ZIMMERMANN TO BE IN LINE FOR NAVY MINISTER FOLLOWING ADMIRAL FAURA).

2. THE MEETING WAS OBVIOUSLY DESIGNED TO EXPLAIN TO ROGERS THE BACKGROUND, OBJECTIVES AND PROGRAMS OF THE PERUVIAN REVOLUTION AND TO DEAL WITH PERUVIAN CONCERNS REGARDING INTERNATIONAL MISINTERPRETATION, MISREPRESENTATION AND ACTIONS OF OPPOSITION TO THE REVOLUTION, IT'S MOTIVES AND LEADERS. AS EXPECTED, GENERAL GRAHAM, CHIEF
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OF VELASCO'S ADVISORY STAFF (A COMBINATION OF OUR OMB AND WHITE HOUSE

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STAFF, INC. NSC.) DID MOST OF THE TALKING COVERING MUCH THE SAME GROUND AS HE DID FOR MEMBERS OF THE SECRETARY'S POLICY PLANNING STAFF

DURING THEIR VISIT TO LIMA LAST MONTH. GENERALS RODRIGUEZ AND GALLEGOS, KNOWN TO BE KEY MEMBERS OF INNER CIRCLE OF PRESIDENTIAL CONFIDANTES HEADED BY GRAHAM, ALSO MADE SIGNIFICANT CONTRIBUTIONS. THE

LOQUACIUS MINISTER OF MINES AND ENERGY (WHO WE KNOW WELL FOR HIS ANTI
-
IMPERIALIST SPEECHES AND PRESS INTERVIEWS), GENERAL FERNANDEZ MALD-
ONADO, SAT GLUM AND SINGULARLY SILENT DURING MOST OF THE ENTIRE FOUR-
TOUR SESSION. IT WAS ALMOST AS IF HE HAD BEEN INSTRUCTED TO ATTEND THE SESSION AGAINST HIS WILL AND HAD NO INTEREST IN TRYING TO EDUCATE THE VISITING AMERICAN IN THE RITES OF THE PERUVIAN REVOLUTION.

THE TWO JUNIOR MEMBERS OF THE CLUB, GENERAL MIRANDA AND ADMIRAL DAVILA, MOSTLY LISTENED.

3. FOLLOWING THE WELL-ESTABLISHED PATTERN, GRAHAM COVERED THE EVILS OF PAST CIVILIAN REGIMES UNDER WHICH THE CARDS WERE STACKED IN FAVOR OF THE OLIGARCHS AND FOREIGN INVESTORS AND AGAINST THE INTERESTS OF THE PERUVIAN PEOPLE AND THE NATION WHICH FINALLY FORCED THE MILITARY TO MOVE IN AND TAKE OVER. HE DESCRIBED THE 1962 MILITARY INTERVENTION FOLLOWING WHICH THEY SET UP NEW ELECTIONS AND TURNED THE GOVERNMENT OVER TO VICTORIOUS BELAUNDE TERRY WITH A MANDATE AND THE POWER TO CARRY OUT THE REFORMS NECESSARY TO DEVELOP THE COUNTRY, CHANGE THE SOCIAL STRUCTURES AND RETURN TO THE NATION CONTROL OVER ITS RESOURCES. WHEN BELAUNDE FAILED TO DO THIS AND IN FACT SOLD OUT EVEN FURTHER PERU'S PETROLEUM RESOURCES TO THE HATED INTERNATIONAL PETROLEUM COMPANY (GRAHAM EXPLAINED), THE MILITARY HAD TO TAKE OVER LOCK, STOCK AND BARREL AND DO THE JOB ITSELF. HE REFERRED TO THE ACCOMPLISHMENTS IN DEVELOPMENT AND SOCIAL CHANGE OVER THE PAST SIX YEARS (BASED ON SELF-SACRIFICE, DETERMINATION AND TWELVE-HOUR WORK DAYS) AND DESCRIBED FUTURE PROGRAMS AND SOCIAL GOALS IN WHICH THE EMPHASIS IS ON POPULAR PARTICIPATION IN THE DECISION-MAKING PROCESS AT ALL LEVELS AS WELL AS IN THE FRUITS OF PROGRESS. AGRARIAN REFORM, THE INDUSTRIAL COMMUNITY, THE NEW PRESS LAW, SOCIAL PROPERTY AND PERU'S APPROACH TO THE FOREIGN INVESTOR WERE DISCUSSED IN THIS LIGHT.

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4. A KEY CONCERN WHICH SURFACED EARLY AND FREQUENTLY WAS NEVER FAR BELOW THE SURFACE DURING THE ENTIRE MEETING WAS THE FEAR OF FOREIGN (ESPECIALLY CIA) INTERVENTION WITHIN PERU AND OF THE INTERNATIONAL "CAMPAIGNS" TO DENIGRATE OR MISREPRESENT THE PERUVIAN REVOLUTION, ITS PROGRAMS, MOTIVES AND LEADERS. GRAHAM REFERRED TO AN ARTICLE HE SAID APPEARED IN THE VENEZUELAN PRESS WHICH DISCUSSED

A SUPPOSED POWER STRUGGLE BETWEEN HIMSELF, "THE MARXIST LEADER" WITH-

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IN THE GOP, AND ARMY CHIEF OF STAFF MORALES BERMUDEZ PORTRAYED AS A PRACTICING CATHOLIC AND LEADER OF THE MODERATES. (GRAHAM COMMENTED THAT HE IS NOT A MARXIST, IS A CATHOLIC, AND ADDED JOKINGLY THAT HE HAD BEEN TO MASS THAT DAY AND WAS NOT CERTAIN MORALES BERMUDEZ HAD BEEN ABLE TO GO). GRAHAM ALSO REFERRED TO ANTI-VELASCO REGIME ARTICLES BY EUDOCIO RAVINES AND OTHERS IN THE FOREIGN PRESS, SOME OF WHICH WERE PAID ADVERTISEMENTS. HE RAISED THE QUESTION AS TO WHO FINANCED THIS TYPE OF CAMPAIGN. HE REFERRED TO RECENT STATEMENTS BY CIA DIRECTOR COLBY WHICH REINFORCED THEIR CONCERN ABOUT POSSIBLE "DESTABILIZING" EFFORTS IN PERU AND CAUSED THEM EVEN TO EXAMINE THE POSSIBILITY OF CIA INVOLVEMENT IN LAST WEEK'S ATTEMPT ON THE LIFE OF MINISTERS MERCADO JARRIN AND TANTALEAN (WHICH HE AND RODRIGUEZ SAID THEY DISCARDED LARGELY BECAUSE OF THE UNPROFESSIONAL MANNER OF THE ATTEMPT).

5. THE GROUPLISTENED WITH CARE TO OUR ASSURANCES THAT THE USG WAS NOT INVOLVED THROUGH ANY OF ITS AGENCIES IN ANY CAMPAIGN TO DENIGRATE OR MISREPRESENT THE PERUVIAN SITUATION NOR IN ANY ACTION TO FRUSTRATE OR "DESTABLIZE" PERU'S GOVERNMENT OR PROGRAMS. WE INVITED THEM TO BRING TO OUR ATTENTION ANY CHARGE TO THIS EFFECT SO THAT WE MAY INVESTIGATE AND TAKE ANY REMEDIAL ACTION INDICATED. WE REITERATED OUR POLICY OF "COOPERATION WITHOUT INTERVENTION" SO CLEARLY ENUNCIATED IN ASSISTANT SECRETARY ROGERS' ARRIVAL STATEMENT AND AS EXEMPLIFIED IN THE GREEN AGREEMENT SIGNED EARLY THIS YEAR AND IN A NUMBER OF ONGOING AND NEW PROGRAMS OF COOPERATION INITIATED SINCE THE SIGNING OF THAT AGREEMENT.

6. COMMENT: WE FOUND THE MEETING A USEFUL EXPOSURE IN BOTH DIRECTIONS. ASSISTANT SECRETARY ROGERS GOT A FEEL OF THE CHARACTER, THINKING AND CONCERNS OF TOP REVOLUTIONARY LEADERS AND WE WERE ABLE ONCE AGAIN TO DISAVOW ANY ACTIONS OR INTENTIONS OF WORKING AGAINST THE PERUVIAN REVOLUTION AND TO RESTATE OUR POLICY OF SUPPORT FOR ITS MAJOR OBJECTIVES. NONETHLESS, THE DEPTH OF SUSPICION AND CONFIDENTIAL

FEAR OF FOREIGN (ESPECIALLY U.S.) INTERVENTION ON THE PART OF THESE PERUVIAN LEADERS WAS CLEARLY REVELED. COLBY'S INTERVIEW HAS HIT THEM HARD. THEY INTERPRET IT AS A CLAIM OF AN UNQUALIFIED RIGHT TO INTERVNE WHEN IT SUITS THE INTERESTS OF THE U.S. AS SEEN BY THE AGENCY, AND ARE FRANKLY SKEPTICAL THAT WE EVEN KNOW WHAT THE AGENCY IS DOING IN PURSUANCE OF THAT CLAIM. WE ALSO SAW AMPLE EVIDENCE OF THE TENDENCY OF THIS GROUP TO PLACE IN THE CATEGORY OF OPPOSITION OR COUNTERREVOLUTIONARIES THOSE WHO FAIL TO COMMIT THEMSELVES WITHOUT QUESTION TO THE NEW RELIGION. WE WERE ALSO EXPOSED TO THE ZEAL, SINCERITY AND THE DETERMINATION OF THESE LEADERS TO IMPROVE THE LOT OF THEIR PEOPLE AND TO CREATE A NEW SOCIETY-NON-CAPITALIST, NON-COMMUNIST, NATIONALIST, SOCIALIST AND PARTICUPATORY, AS THEY CHARACTERIZE IT.
DEAN

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